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INFORMATION REPORT

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COUNTRY China

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of a Mongol Nation

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SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.

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3. Mongolia of the future:

We have discussed the past and present Mongolia. What does the future hold in store? Stating it briefly, we Mongols desire to build a free country founded on democratic principles. We desire this for the following reasons, which are based on the past and present history of Mongolia:

A. Reasons for the establishment of a Mongol nation:

- (1) The previously mentioned historical background and geographical location
- (2) To oppose Communism
- (3) To eliminate racial strife and to have the Mongols play their part in the maintenance of world peace through the realization of President Wilson's great and noble declaration concerning the liberation and self-determination of races in the far corners of the world.
- (4) Because it is in accordance with the racial principle set forth in the San Min Chu I, i.e., "the minority races shall be supported and given the right of self-determination." In a speech he delivered in August 1945, Generalissimo CHIANG Kai-shek stressed the importance of equality and freedom among the various races within the country, saying that "the racial principle must be implemented and world peace maintained." Solemnly and resolutely he continued, "If we ignore racial equality and freedom and prevent the establishment of independent and autonomous governments, we not only violate the revolutionary spirit of our country but we also intensify the conflict among the various races within the country. If we do this, we endanger the very existence of our nation and the peace and safety of the world." The San Min Chu I and this declaration of Generalissimo CHIANG must not be forgotten.
- (5) Inasmuch as the people in Outer Mongolia have gained their "independence," there is no reason why the people of Inner Mongolia should not also gain their independence, since they are of the

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some race and live in adjoining lands. Although there are places in Inner Mongolia where the Mongols and Chinese are living together, these places are very few. Inner Mongolia is the same as Outer Mongolia in that it covers a wide area and has its own land, people and organization, as always, even though some of its sovereignty may have been lost. It is therefore only right that all of Mongolia should become independent.

- (6) Because of the current trend among all the races of the world toward independence and because of the practical requirements of Mongolia herself, Mongolia should attain her independence.
- (7) To eliminate the conflict among the various foreign powers in Mongolia so as to further the cause of world peace.
- (8) The very fact that the Chinese authorities sent their people into Mongolia under an agreement to "borrow" the land to feed the people" proves that the Mongols have never been totally and officially deprived of their sovereignty.

For these reasons, we wish to re-establish the Mongol nation, and we are more determined than ever to succeed in attaining our goal. As to what kind of a regime we shall establish in Mongolia, the following are the principles which will determine our actions:

B. Essentials in connection with the establishment of a Mongol nation:

- (1) National name: Union of Mongol Republics
- (2) Form of government: a union of democratic republics
- (3) Constitution: a "triple rights" constitution, i.e., legislative, executive and judicial, shall be adopted and enforced after the termination of the period of political tutelage. The draft constitution will be studied and drawn up during the period of political tutelage.
- (4) Sovereignty: the national sovereignty of the Union of Mongol Republics shall belong to the people.
- (5) People: all people of the Union of Mongol Republics, regardless of sex, religion, race or political beliefs, shall be equal before the law.
- (6) Domain: as indicated in the attached map, those areas which formerly belonged to the Mongols but from which the Mongols have withdrawn, shall be sacrificed. Also, the 29 banners in Tsinghai Province shall be excluded. Instead, Hulutas and the small surrounding area shall be included in the domain.
- (7) Republics: the Union of Mongol Republics shall be composed of the following eight republics:

East Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Outer Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Buriat Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Central Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 West Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Bayantala Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Jesso Mongolian Autonomous Republic
 Tumat, or Hsinhai, Mongolian Autonomous Republic

- (8) Population: total population 1, of which 1 are Mongols. (Note: According to Owen Lattimore's estimate, the Mongol population is 5,000,000 and is distributed as follows: 2,000,000 in Manchuria, 1,000,000 in Outer Mongolia, 1,000,000 in Inner Mongolia and the remaining 1,000,000 in various other areas. However, according to our own calculations, the total Mongol population, including those Mongols in China, Outer Mongolia and Buriat Mongolia in the USSR, is 4,500,000. But if we take into consideration all those Mongols living in Hungary, Afghanistan, Turkey, Burma, etc., the total number might even exceed Lattimore's estimate.)
- (9) National flag: to be determined
- (10) Name of the era: so-and-so year of the Union of Mongol Republics
- (11) Capital: Ulan Bator

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- (12) Political principles: the nation shall be founded on the principles of democracy. However, at the beginning, wherever necessary, certain areas shall be ruled directly by the central government.
- (13) Foreign relations: friendly relations shall be established with all democratic countries and a special effort shall be made to establish a lasting friendship with the United States based on just and moral principles so as to help in the attainment of world peace.
- (14) Economy: our economic structure shall be based on the principles of a free economy. However, during the first years of the nation, a controlled economy shall be adopted in a loose form.

The organization of cooperatives shall be encouraged. Those enterprises which are monopolistic in their nature or which cannot be managed with private resources, such as railways, shipping, etc., shall be government-owned.

A controlled currency system shall be adopted. The backbone of the national productive enterprises shall be animal husbandry and agriculture, with industry and mining taking the next important places. An agricultural revolution shall be carried out to bring about the mechanization of farming methods. The processing of animal husbandry products shall also be industrialized. In order to realize the above, technical and material aid (machinery) from the U.S. must be depended upon.

- (15) The military: the use of violence against internal and external enemies shall be avoided during the Mongol revolution, and an effort shall be made to attain the aims of the revolution through political means based on the principles of truth and justice.

The military operations shall be limited to the maintenance of law and order within the country. However, in preparation for the time when the attainment of our aim may become impossible through peaceful political means, and for other similar emergencies, a force of irregular troops shall be organized and trained.

- (16) Policy vis-a-vis the Mongolian People's Republic: during the period of political tutelage, Outer Mongolia shall be guided and supervised indirectly, and the education in democracy of her people shall be speedily enforced so as to enable them to take over the political administration of the Republic.
- (17) Policy vis-a-vis other races within the jurisdiction of the government: under the guiding principle, "Do unto others as you wish them to do unto you," we must not take vengeful action against the Chinese immigrants in areas under our jurisdiction. Rather, they shall be given the same rights and freedom as the Mongols.

In those areas where the Mongols and the Chinese are intermingled to such an extent that it is impossible to govern them separately, either a joint executive organ of the Mongols and Chinese shall be established or the method of exchange of people (exchanging Mongols in China for Chinese in Mongol territory), as used in Poland and the Ukraine, shall be adopted.

- (18) Relationship with China: we shall cooperate with those parties and groups in China which sympathize with the desire of Mongolia to attain her independence through just and equitable means, and shall join our forces with them in fighting for the victory of the democratic camp over the Communists. From the viewpoints of both politics and economy, Mongolia must maintain a lasting friendship with a democratic government in China.

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- (19) Main forces in the establishment of the nation: it is believed that the main forces to be used in the establishment of the nation are presently the Prince TE Group and the Andaraga Group. In the future, when Mongol territories have been recovered, new forces are expected to emerge. In the past, there have been close cooperation and understanding between Prince TE and Andaraga, and their representatives are secretly active in various areas.
- (20) New nations that may be created through the establishment of a Mongol nation: there is the possibility that the following three nations shall emerge as the result of the establishment of the Mongol nation: a Chung-Tung (中東) Republic in Manchuria, a Uighar Republic in Sinkiang and a Tibetan Republic in Tibet. The birth of these nations would eliminate the occasional local racial clashes, eliminate the conflict among the foreign powers in these areas and aid in the common defense against Communism. However, if these areas are induced to join the Communist bloc because of the inability of the democratic influence in these areas to assert itself, it is feared that the resulting effect on Mongolia will be very unfavorable.

We wish to emphasize here that the birth of these Nations, far from being contrary to the interests of China, would aid greatly in making China prosperous.

G. Method of, and the steps to be taken for, establishing a Mongol nation:

- (1) As Outer Mongolia is already "independent", the problem of the establishment of the Mongol nation does not lie in the attainment of independence of the whole of Mongolia, but in extending the national boundaries of the already independent Outer Mongolia to include Inner Mongolia. Therefore all attempts in the establishment of a Mongol nation should be made along these lines.

When the UN is discussing the Asiatic question or when there are conferences similar to the Yalta Conference, at which the independence of Outer Mongolia was acknowledged, the U.S. should submit and support a proposal to extend the national boundaries of Outer Mongolia to include the whole of Mongolia. It is hoped that the U.S. will make a proposal similar to the one mentioned above (regardless of whether or not there will be a third world war), and thus be instrumental in having justice done.

It should be noted here that it is clearly understood that "extension of the national boundaries of Outer Mongolia" does not in the least imply that the present regime in Outer Mongolia is to be recognized as it is. Rather, the present political and economic foundations of Outer Mongolia must be completely rebuilt on a democratic foundation.

- (2) In our movement for the establishment of the Mongol nation, our guiding principle should be as stated in item (15) on the "Essentials in the establishment of a Mongol nation," namely, to attain our aim through peaceful political means based on the principles of truth and justice without resort to violence. Therefore, we must concentrate on the attainment of our goal through diplomatic means.
- (3) Preparations for the establishment of the Mongol nation should be carried out step by step according to plan. Our base of movement must first be established and a "National Foundation Preparatory Committee" be organized.*
- (4) Immediately after the recovery of a part of Mongol territory, a Provisional Government must be established in that area and work

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began for the recovery of all the republics through a military administration in each republic. When all the lands of a republic have been recovered, the period of military administration in that republic will end and the period of political tutelage will begin. The duration of the period of political tutelage will depend mainly on the following:

- a. the rapidity with which a universal, compulsory educational system is put into effect
- b. the completion of a census, the organizing of a garrison force and the building of a communications network
- c. the completion of the people's training in the use of their "three rights."

After the termination of the period of political tutelage, the constitutional period will begin. In other words, the period of national foundation is divided into the following three periods: the military administration period, the political tutelage period and the constitutional period.

D. Preparations for the establishment of a Mongol nation:

(1) Preparations among the Mongols themselves:

- a. the Mongol patriots must be urged to cooperate more closely with one another so as to consolidate their internal unity.
- b. the ties between the leaders and the youths must be strengthened and the individual training of young staff workers intensified.
- c. the "cells" of the various secret organizations must be further strengthened and their activities in enemy territory intensified.
- d. contact must be maintained at all times with all parts of Mongolia.
- e. the organization of the provisional government must be studied and laws drafted.
- f. as the first step in the setting up of the garrison force, army officers and a small number of troops must be trained, and contact with local forces must be maintained at all times.
- g. an effort must be made to establish closer relations with friendly nations.
- h. all other necessary political, economic and military measures must be studied and devised.

(2) Preparations with outside assistance:

- a. appeals must be made to the U.S. for an early realization of the U.S. aid program for Mongolia.
- b. in the establishment of our bases, those areas which are under the sole influence of the U.S., such as Okinawa or the Philippine Islands, are believed to be more ideal for our purpose than those areas which are under the mixed influence of several countries.
- c. in the training of staff workers, we should send some of our students to the U.S. for further studies. Some of our students and young men should be trained at the location of the National Foundation Preparatory Committee. The 50-odd Mongol students currently studying in Japan (the Chinese Representative Group in Japan reported their number as being 30) should be made to return to Mongolia. In Mongolia and its adjoining areas, the Mongol people should be educated through religion and other means.

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- d. arrangements for promoting mutual understanding between Mongolia and America. Mongolia should try to adopt the good points found in American democracy, and, at the same time, help the Americans to gain a fair understanding of Mongol affairs. The Americans, too, should encourage the Mongol people to learn more about the U.S.A. Thus, in order to promote the mutual study of political, economic and other problems, both countries should devise a way of sending research workers to each other's country. Moreover, special assistance from America is needed in regard to sending Mongol students to America for research work.
- e. arrangements for a "National Foundation" loan. Arrangements for obtaining and repaying the loan should be discussed separately with the American government.
- f. if the situation permits, the U.S. should be asked to establish clinics, educational institutions and industrial promotion enterprises in Mongolia, following the example of the various religious and social organizations of the various other countries.
- g. in order to rebuild Mongol society, vast improvements must be made. Further, the plan for the reconstruction of the Mongol banners (rural reconstruction), which was begun in 1942 by the Mongol Government, should be continued, the foundations of Mongol society strengthened, the factors which enable Communism to gain influence eliminated and the Mongol people within the Communist areas won over. All the expenses required in carrying out the various tasks should be acquired from the American China Aid Fund. Therefore, it is necessary to consider Mongolia as an independent regional unit when the distribution is made of funds and materials now intended for China as part of the U.S. aid program.

In order to proceed with the preparatory work for the above activities in a unified and systematic way, an operational base must be established and the Mongolian National Foundation Preparatory Committee organized directly by Prince TE, Andaraga and their followers.

Since most of the items listed in this plan are merely principles, another, more substantial plan will be drafted if and when the Mongols and the American Government come to a mutual agreement.

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Enclosures: 1 sketch map with population chart.

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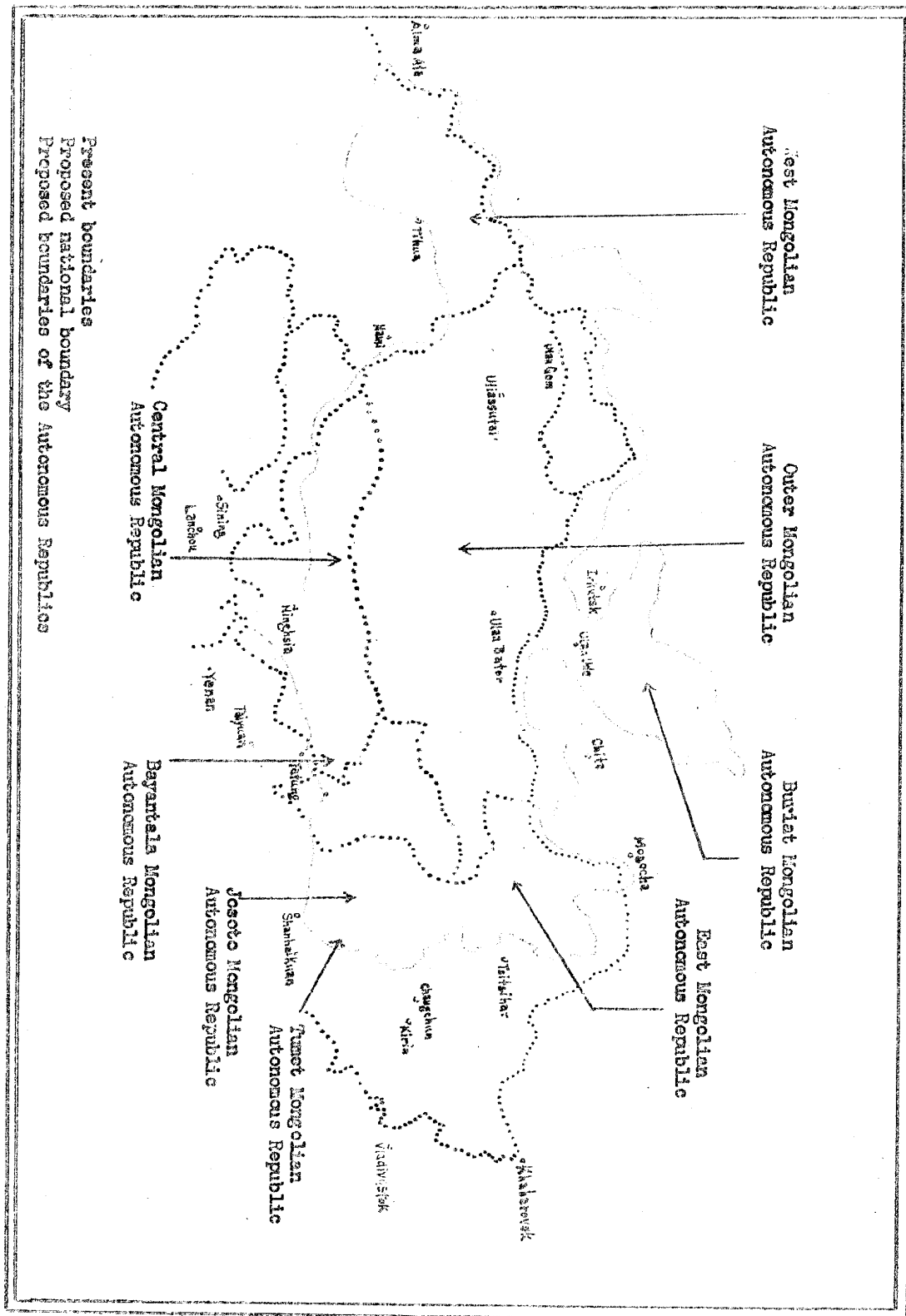
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ATTACHMENT #1



SKETCH MAP OF THE UNION OF MONGOL REPUBLICS

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Name of Republic	Capital	Domain	Mongol Pop.	Han Pop.	Total	Remarks
East Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Wangyezhudao (122-01, 46-05)	Part of Hulun Buir-Botha region, part of Jirim, Jooda and Shilingol Leagues	1,470,000	440,000	1,910,000	
Central Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Pailingmiao (110-27, 41-50)	Parts of Shilingol League and Chahar Province, all of Ulanjap League, all of the Alashan region and all of the Edjin Torgut region	320,000	240,000	560,000	A small number of Mohammedans is included in the figure for Han Chinese.
West Mongolian Autonomous Republic		All Mongol banners in Sinking Prov.	150,000	120,000	270,000	A very small number of Manchus and Mohammedans is included in figure for Han Chinese.
Josoto Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Chihfeng (118-53, 42-18)	Part of Josoto League	350,000	1,980,000	2,330,000	
Outer Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Sain Shanda (109-40, 45-00)	All of Outer Mongolia, the Girst Autonomous Territory and the Tannu Tuva Republic	1,300,000	40,000	1,340,000	
Buriat Mongolian Autonomous Republic		All of the Buriat Autonomous Republic	280,000	—	280,000	There are also approx. 90,000 Russians.
Bayantala Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Houho (Kueihua) (111-36, 40-46)	All of Bayantala League and part of Chahar Province	130,000	1,820,000	1,950,000	
Tumut Mongolian Autonomous Republic	Chinchou (121-07, 41-07)	Two Tumut banners and the four counties, Chinhshien, Chinhsei, Hsingch'eng and Suichung	180,000	970,000	1,150,000	
		Total	4,180,000	5,610,000	9,790,000	

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Note 1.

- A. Most of the figures on the population in this chart are based on the "Charts of the Administrative Districts," published by the Ministry of Interior of the Nanking Government in November 1947, and investigations conducted by the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission.
- B. About 300,000 to 400,000 Manchus and Mohammedans are included in the figures given for the Han race population. They are not given separately because their numbers are so small. There are also about 80,000 Russians in the Buriat Mongolian Autonomous Republic, as shown on the chart.
- C. In addition to the 4,180,000 Mongols accounted for on this chart, there are about 350,000 other Mongols in the areas not included in the Republics mentioned on this chart, such as Gorkos Front and Rear Banners, Durbet Banner, Yakejo League banners, East Kotha (eight banners), Tsaitaihar (123-57, 47-22)(eight banners), the lands of the Suruk herds-men and the Tsinghai Mongol banners. These 350,000 Mongols are to be exchanged for those Han Chinese who are now living in the Autonomous Republics mentioned above.

Note 2. The populations of the three nations which may be created through the establishment of the Mongol Autonomous Republic:

- A. There will be approximately 34,000,000 people of the Han race and 250,000 Mongols in the Chang-Tung Republic.
- B. The population of the Uighur Republic will be as follows: Uighur race, about 2,500,000; Kazakh race, about 400,000; Han race, about 300,000; Mongols, about 150,000; Mohammedans, about 100,000. The total population would be about 3,450,000.
- C. The population of the Tibetan Republic will be as follows: according to the survey conducted by the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, the total population of Tibet is about 952,150. Among them, 639,950 are laymen, while the remaining 312,200, about one-third of the total population, are lama priests. According to the estimate of the Tibetans themselves, their total population is only about 523,000.